

**Discussion Paper 2
The Nature, Scope and Motivation for Sexual Violence Against
Men and Boys in Conflict**

<p>“The consequences and characteristics of sexual violence against men and boys remain largely unknown and should be the focus of future study”. Brussels Symposium, 2006</p>
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Framing the issue

Nature: Sexual violence against men and boys is generally understood as encompassing rape and sexual assault in their different forms. However, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has noted that sexual violence “is not limited to physical invasion of the human body and may include acts that do not involve penetration or even physical contact”¹. Sexual violence against men and boys thus also includes other actions directed at a victim’s sexual or reproductive health or identity, for example: castration and other forms of enforced sterilization; other forms of sexual mutilation; genital violence (for example beatings of the genitals or the administration of electric shocks to the genital area); enforced nudity; enforced masturbation and other forms of sexual humiliation; and enforced incest or enforced rape of female or male others².

Scope: Although sexual violence against men and boys during violent conflicts is poorly documented, it is believed to be widespread. In the last decade alone, incidents of sexual violence against men and boys have been reported in over 25 conflicts³. However, little statistical data exists on the subject, and information which does exist tends to be anecdotal. A major explanation for the lack of data is underreporting. As a result, studies that deal with sexual violence in conflict frequently confine sexual violence against men and boys to a footnote.

Motivation: Male rape has been labeled “the forgotten method of torture” by health practitioners and academics alike. In wartime, it is predominantly an expression of aggression, power and dominance over the enemy rather than an expression of satisfying the perpetrator’s sexual desire. Sexual violence often involves purposeful action aimed at maintaining supremacy through intimidation, abuse and repression. Closely related, there is another important meaning behind sexual violence against men and boys: the intent to “emasculate” the enemy himself, and turn him into a *de facto* “female” through sexual cruelty⁴.

Brief review of the literature

We reviewed 14 articles examining sexual violence against men and boys in conflict. Little information has been found on the scope, nature and motivation of sexual violence against boys. The key issues these articles dealt with were: (1) the lack of attention to the problem; (2) motivations for and consequences of sexual violence; and (3) the importance of understanding and addressing sexual violence against men and boys in conflict.

¹ Zawati 2007.

² Sivakumaran 2007, Russell 2007.

³ In the last decade alone, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Médecins Sans Frontières, UNICEF, Physicians for Human Rights, and UNHCR—to name only a few—have reported incidents of sexual violence against men and/or boys in the context of violent conflicts in Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Chechnya, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Egypt, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Kenya, Liberia, Malaysia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, United States facilities abroad, Uzbekistan, Yemen, the former Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe. Older cases include, but are not limited to, Chile, El Salvador, Greece, the Iraq-Kuwait war, Northern Ireland, and the Sino-Japanese war. For documentation, see Sivakumaran 2007, Russell 2008.

⁴ Del Zotto and Jones 2002.

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1. The lack of attention to sexual violence against men and boys in conflict

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the literature review is that there is an extremely limited awareness of, and knowledge about, sexual violence against men and boys in conflict among the humanitarian and sexual violence research community. Several factors may account for this:

Lack of reporting

Sexual violence against men and boys is taboo. Men who talk about their victimization risk violating the honor of their community. The stigma attached to such violence explains the extreme reluctance of many men and boys to report cases. Several authors note that sexual violence against males is often not named as such, but recorded under the rubric of “abuse” or “torture”. Additionally, as Sivakumaran⁵ points out, many societies consider sexual contact between two males indicative of homosexuality, regardless of any elements of coercion or force involved, and thus cases of sexual violence will not be considered as such.

Lack of detection

Oosterhoff *et al.*⁶ point out that a major factor in the failure to identify male victims of sexual torture has been the slowness of institutions to recognize that male victims exist.

- Gender stereotyping: “Men cannot be victims, only perpetrators”. Del Zotto and Jones⁷ stress that in general, the cultural barriers to recognizing male on male sexual abuse run deep. In most societies, the dominant understanding of masculinity is not compatible with the victimization of men.
- Oosterhoff *et al.*⁸, drawing from their study of therapy centres in the former Yugoslavia, point out that healthcare professionals who are unaware of, or uncomfortable with, the possibility of sexual torture of men may fail to discover (many) cases and may inadvertently deter survivors from seeking medical or legal remedies.

Lack of a legal framework

Sexual violence against men is not recognized in the law of some countries, particularly in cases where homosexual activity attracts legal penalties. Even where legal recognition exists, prosecutors and juries are not always willing to accord such violence the seriousness it deserves. For instance, analyses of sentencing patterns at the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) show that perpetrators of sexual violence against men have received lighter sentences than those who perpetrated sexual violence against women⁹.

Focus on sexual violence against women in the GBV community

Graham¹⁰ (among others) argues that in the current social research literature on sexual abuse, men are generally conceptualized as offenders and women as victims and that this neglect of male victims can be explained by the feminist concern to highlight the victimization of women by men. According to Carpenter¹¹, there is a conceptual and definitional confusion over gender-based violence (GBV): GBV is frequently portrayed as synonymous with violence against women. Such confusion and misuse of the terminology is a barrier to acknowledging the existence of sexual violence against men.

⁵ Sivakumaran 2005.

⁶ Oosterhoff *et al.* 2004.

⁷ Del Zotto and Jones 2002.

⁸ Oosterhoff *et al.* 2004.

⁹ King, Kimi and Megan Greening (2005)

¹⁰ Graham 2006.

¹¹ Carpenter 2006

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A consequence of this silence is the neglect of male victims in GBV intervention programming.

Russell¹² notes that international organizations—UN agencies, governmental and intergovernmental organizations, international and national NGOs, international criminal tribunals—have begun to increasingly acknowledge male-directed sexual violence in their publications and their staff members are sensitized and concerned. Del Zotto and Jones¹³, in a 2002 quantitative inventory of information materials of 4,076 NGOs addressing sexual violence in warfare, found that only 3% of the organizations concerned specifically mention the experience of male victims in their programming or literature. Carpenter¹⁴ links this lack of attention to the “human security” discourse in international institutions which is based upon a “highly gendered understanding of who is to be secured”, characterized by the exclusion of civilian males as subjects of protection or as victims of GBV.

2. Motivations for and consequences of male directed sexual violence in conflict

According to Sivakumaran¹⁵ ideas of power and dominance are largely similar in sexual violence against women and men. The majority of articles discussing patterns of sexual violence and assault against men during conflict have focused on the occurrence of sexual torture of men in detention settings. Sexual violence in detention is perpetrated along with other forms of torture, to exert power over the victims. This is done particularly to intimidate, humiliate and break-down the identity of the enemy, or to intentionally sterilize the victims. Peel¹⁶ identifies three patterns of sexual violence against men: 1) in Nigeria, rape and sexual assault are part of the brutality of the detention and interrogation process; 2) In Algeria, sexual violence is destined to intimidate and humiliate the enemy and break down his political identity; and 3) In Sri Lanka, rape of prisoners by soldiers was not official policy, but generally condoned.

Zawati¹⁷ states that male rape in times of war has been used as a weapon and a means of punishment in many cultures. In ancient wars and societies, male rape in times of war was considered as an absolute right of the victorious soldiers to declare the totality of the enemy's defeat and to express their own power and control. In the military context, there was a widespread belief that when a victorious soldier emasculated a vanquished enemy and sexually penetrated him, the victim would lose his manhood, and could not be a warrior or a ruler anymore.

Sivakumaran¹⁸ identifies three effects desired by perpetrators: emasculation/feminization, homosexualization, and prevention of procreation. In ethnic conflicts, such as in the former Yugoslavia, men's genitals were beaten in an attempt to destroy their reproductive functioning and ensure that they would not be able to produce ethnic minority children. A similar logic may lie behind the castration of young boys, for instance in Sudan¹⁹. Sexual violence is also used to initiate and integrate males, particularly children and adolescent boys, into military/paramilitary forces²⁰.

Consequences of sexual violence against men and boys

Peel *et al.* have highlighted the similarities in the psychological impact of rape on women and men (post traumatic stress syndrome) and the stigma attached to sexual abuse. They note that acute sexual assault of males rarely leaves lasting physical signs, complicating diagnosis and prosecution²¹. However, Harry Van Tienhoven records physical sequelae of genital pain, including pain during urination, anal pain, and testicular

¹² Russell 2007.

¹³ Del Zotto and Jones 2002.

¹⁴ Carpenter 2006.

¹⁵ Sivakumaran 2007.

¹⁶ Peel 2004.

¹⁷ Zawati 2007.

¹⁸ Sivakumaran 2007.

¹⁹ Kristoff, Nicholas (2006) “Genocide in slow motion.” *New York Review of Books*, 52(2).

²⁰ Russell 2007.

²¹ Peel *et al.* 2000.

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pain; and sexual dysfunction, including erection problems and impotence²². Carole Hardy and Van Tienhoven note psychological effects including feelings of loss of control over the body, overwhelming shame/humiliation, recurrent feelings of anger/fear/powerlessness, destruction of gender identity, and confusion over sexual orientation²³. Margaret Blaauw observes that effects are equally long-lasting in boys, with children experiencing depression, anxiety disorders, learning disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and feelings of guilt and shame. Effects are particularly severe in children who have been forced to participate in sexual violence, for example through enforced incest or enforced rape of non-relatives²⁴.

The social consequences for men and boys who are known to have suffered sexual violence can also be severe. Male survivors report being looked down on by their communities as having lost their masculinity²⁵. Wives also sometimes request to be divorced from men experiencing impotence as a consequence of sexual violence²⁶. Beyond these consequences for the individual, little is understood of the impact of such violence on families, communities, or the perpetuation of conflicts.

3) The importance of understanding and addressing male-directed sexual violence in conflict

Most authors agree that investigation is likely to reveal male-directed sexual violence against men and boys - whether in the form of rape, sexual torture, genital violence, or sexual humiliation - in most conflicts.

An “open secret”: The case of the former Yugoslavia

In the case of the former Yugoslavia, it has been estimated that more than 4,000 Croatian men were sexually abused by Serb militants throughout the conflict²⁷ and the ICTY has addressed crimes of sexual violence that took place during the conflict. However, even in this case, where sexual violence against men seems to have been pulled out of the shadow, the phenomenon was often not recognized as such and not thoroughly investigated. According to Oosterhoff *et al.*²⁸, an analysis of Croatian press between November 1991 and December 1993 turned up only 6 articles making reference to sexual assault committed against men compared to 60 articles detailing the rape of women. Zawati²⁹ notes that at the time of publication, the ICTY had not charged any perpetrators of sexual violence against men with rape; the most common charges appear to be “torture” or “degrading treatment.” Stener³⁰ claims that investigators at the ICTY minimized the sexual nature of blunt trauma to male genitals which was used by warring factions in ex-Yugoslavia to systematically attack the victims, and that male sexual assault was not being treated with the seriousness it deserved.

Benefits of addressing and understanding the issue

Sivakumaran³¹ stresses that there is a strong link between male sexual violence and sexual violence against women. They are both part of the gendered dimension of sexual violence in armed conflict. Attention to these issues may lead to a more nuanced consideration of the role of men and women in armed conflict. An improved understanding of the nature, scope and consequences of sexual violence against men and boys will contribute to a more comprehensive grasp of – and response to – sexual violence in conflict. Russell³² emphasizes that examining male-directed sexual violence also can contribute to a better understanding of the construction of models of masculinity, both at the global and local levels—a topic

²² Van Tienhoven (1993)

²³ Hardy (2002)

²⁴ Blaauw, Margaret (2002)

²⁵ Sivakumaran 2007

²⁶ Russell 2008

²⁷ Zawati, 2007, p.34

²⁸ Oosterhoff et al 2004, p.69.

²⁹ Zawati 2007, Del Zotto and Jones 2002

³⁰ Stener Carlson 2006

³¹ Sivakumaran 2007, p. 260

³² Russell, 2007.

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increasingly acknowledged as relevant to concerns ranging from gender equality to peace-building to HIV/AIDS prevention. Carpenter³³ points out that the treatment of male survivors may also lead to their involvement in addressing the causes and consequences of violence against women.

Research gaps and recommendations

a) Questions for a research agenda

1. How does sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflict connect with wider gender research on masculinities, power, and security issues?
2. How do gendered power dynamics interact with conflict dynamics through "emasculatation," intimidation and efforts to destroy families, communities, social networks and as a particular weapon of ethnic cleansing, or genocide?
3. What place does sexual violence against men and boys play in conflict perpetuation or the choice of particular forms of retaliatory violence?
4. How can sexual violence against men or of males forced to rape family members or non-relatives influence post-conflict reintegration of ex-combatants?
5. What impact does sexual violence against men have on the incidence of sexual and other violence against women?
6. How does sexual violence in institutions (military, prisons) contribute to conflict-related sexual violence?

b) Recommendations for research

1. Systematic collection of baseline data on trends including location, frequency and specific type of sexual violence against men and boys³⁴.
2. Detailed case studies in order to understand the different patterns of sexual violence against men and boys, motivations of perpetrators, and community responses to survivors. Leaning *et al.* and Russell identify cases which might offer valuable insight, such as Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sri Lanka, Sudan (Darfur)³⁵.
3. Define areas where research on sexual violence against men and boys intersects with similar research from other settings (e.g. prison rape).
4. Examination of past interventions to identify lessons learned (e.g. evaluate the ICTY's effort to highlight the issue in the former Yugoslavia).
5. Build upon lessons learned from past experiences in conducting research on sexual violence against women to conduct similar studies to determine trends regarding violence against men and boys.
6. Find a "masculinities perspective" that avoids reducing men to the status of "perpetrator".
7. Consider the particular case of sexual violence against boys.

³³ Carpenter 2006, p.98-99.

³⁴ Collection efforts should attempt to disaggregate by age as well as gender; to identify the sex of perpetrators; and to create reporting categories for violence that affects male sexuality and reproductive capacity, such as the mutilation of the genitals.

³⁵ Leaning et al 2004, Russell 2008.

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Review of the Literature

Topic 2: The Nature, Scope and Motivation for Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Conflict

No	Author/Title/Source/URL	Summary
1	<p>Carpenter, R. Charli</p> <p>Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo Security Dialogue, Vol. 37, No. 1, 83-103 (2006)</p> <p>Full text available at: http://sdi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/37/1/83</p>	<p>While gender-based violence has recently emerged as a salient topic in the human security community, it has been framed principally with respect to violence against women and girls, particularly sexual violence. The author of this article highlights three forms of gender-based violence which men my experience: 1) sexual violence 2) forced conscription 3) sex-selective massacre. Sexual violence comprises: a) Rape and Sexual Mutilation in order to 'feminize' and humiliate the conquered men b) Secondary Victimization: rape of women as psychological torture of men. Carpenter notes that psycho-social services for male survivors of sexual violence are nearly non-existent and that there is a remarkable lack of gender-specific data on atrocities in complex emergencies.</p> <p>The author refers to the 'human security' discourse in international institutions which, according to her, is based upon a highly gendered understanding of who is to be secured, characterized by the exclusion of civilian males as subjects of 'protection', or as victims of 'gender-based violence'. In presenting evidence, Carpenter aims to make the case that the three forms of abuse against men are endemic, and that they must be recognized as gender-based violence, condemned, and addressed by civilian protection agencies and proponents of a 'human security' agenda in international relations. The author concludes by stressing the fact that men deserve protection against these abuses in their own right; moreover, addressing gender-based violence against women and girls in conflict situations is inseparable from addressing the forms of violence to which civilian men are specifically vulnerable.</p>
2	<p>Del Zotto, Augusta and Jones, Adam:</p> <p>Male-on-male sexual violence in wartime: human rights' last taboo? Paper presented to the annual convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, 23-27 March 2002</p> <p>Full text available at: http://adamjones.freesevers.com/malerape.htm</p>	<p>Del Zotto and Jones explore the complex cultural and institutional factors that have contributed to the silencing of men's and boy's experiences of sexual assault in warfare.</p> <p>They state that the lack of widespread institutional recognition of male-on-male sexual violence in wartime stems form three conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The historical silencing of men's experiences of intra-gender abuse and cruelty. • The far-reaching dissemination and institutionalization of narrow feminist constructions of masculinity and sexual violence, reflected in the academic and activist literature as well as the actions of international organizations and the coverage offered by mass media. • The appropriation of this narrow construction of masculinity by political elites as a way of upholding regional security interests <p>The authors examine in turn the agendas and discourse of policymakers, non-governmental organizations, and feminist scholarship. They argue that, because institutionalized recognition of war sex crimes performs a strategic function, the construction of this human rights problem calls attention to certain types of victims, while ignoring others. Human rights policies and activism are determined by narrow constructions of masculinity and femininity. Some indication of the</p>

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		<p>power of the dominant framework can be found in a random sample of 60 NGO reports that address the issue of sexual assault in wartime. The authors find that 58 NGO reports framed victims of sexual assaults solely as “women or girls”. An analysis of 4,076 NGOs conducting work on sexual violence and assault during wartime shows that only 3 % of the organizations specifically mention the experience of male victims in their programming or literature, while roughly 25 % of the groups deny male on male sexual violence as a problem. Del Zotto and Jones argue that one key reason for this neglect is that NGOs rely on both government and private funding to operate their services. Another influential element is the framing of sexual violence by feminist scholars and activists.</p> <p>In the second part of the paper, the authors look at feminism and sexual victimization in the Balkan's War, arguing that there has not been a serious attempt to explore the subject of male sexual victimization in the feminist study of the Balkans wars. The authors also argue that the ICTY's mandate focused on the protection of women, argue that male victims were omitted, conceptually and de facto, from the trial process.</p>
3	<p>Graham, Ruth</p> <p>Male Rape and the Careful Construction of the Male Victim, Social & Legal Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2, 187-208, 2006</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://sls.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/15/2/187</p>	<p>This article looks at social research on sexual assault in non-conflict se generates much attention in social research, but male victims are largely neglected by a predominantly feminist perspective that seeks to highlight the gendered nature of sexual assault as a social phenomenon. As a result there is a relative lack of empirical information on male rape. According to the author, it is important to look at the development of male rape as it emerges in the social research discourse. It is important to examine this development because the current direction of the research on male rape has worrying consequences for how we theorize sexual assault in general. Graham examines how male rape is understood in academic discourse, and focuses specifically on how a credible male victim is constructed with reference to sexual difference, sexuality, and hierarchies of sexual harm. The analysis demonstrates the problems around the concept of 'male rape', and the need for all those researching sexual assault to account adequately for both male and female victims alike.</p>
4	<p>Leaning, Jennifer and Gingerich, Tara:</p> <p>The use of rape as a weapon of war in the conflict in Darfur, Paper prepared for USAID Oct. 2004</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/library/report-2004-oct-darfurrape.html</p>	<p>This article doesn't primarily deal with sexual violence against men and boys. However, in their article, Leaning et al. stress the importance of examining the extent to which boys and men have also been the victims of sexual violence perpetrated by the <i>Janjaweed</i> and/or Sudanese military. They state that “the taboo surrounding this subject is so entrenched that it is extremely difficult to find any Darfurian willing to discuss the subject”.</p> <p>According to the authors, “many interlocutors with, including international humanitarian workers who have spent time in Darfur or Chad during the conflict, had not heard any reports of boys or men being the targets of sexual abuse and expressed the belief that the boys and men when caught by the <i>Janjaweed</i> were usually all killed. This absence of information does not rule out the sexual abuse of males before they are killed, however. One interlocutor with significant experience investigating human rights abuses relayed first-hand eyewitness accounts of boys and men being sodomized with sticks in the context of <i>en masse</i> terrorization of villagers who had been rounded up in the centre of the village during a <i>Janjaweed</i> attack” (p.24).</p>
5	<p>Oosterhoff, Pauline et al.</p> <p>Sexual Torture of Men in Croatia and Other Conflict</p>	<p>This paper summarizes contemporary understandings of sexual torture of men, the circumstances in which it occurs, its causes and consequences, national and international laws on sexual torture and how perpetrators are being dealt with.</p> <p>Sexual torture consists of any act of sexual violence, from forced nakedness to rape, which qualifies as torture. Legal</p>

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	<p>Situations: An Open Secret, <i>Reproductive Health Matters</i>, 12(23): 68-77, May 2004</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0968808004231159</p>	<p>recognition that sexual violence could constitute torture came as a result of the war in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. While there are certain specific differences in the sexual torture of men and women and its effects, the psychological symptoms experienced by male and female survivors seem to be substantially similar.</p> <p>This paper describes the circumstances in which sexual torture occurs, its causes and consequences, and the development of international law addressing it. It presents data from a study in 2000 in Croatia, where the number of men who were sexually tortured appears to have been substantial. Based on in-depth interviews with 16 health professionals and data from the medical records of three centres providing care to refugees and victims of torture, the study found evidence of rape and other forced sexual acts, full or partial castration, genital beatings and electroshock. The author looks at therapists and argues that professionals who are unaware of or uncomfortable with the possibility of sexual torture of men may fail to discover (many) cases and inadvertently deter survivors from seeking medical or legal remedies.</p> <p>One of the striking points to emerge from the study is how silent male survivors of sexual torture have remained about their experiences. Few men admit being sexually tortured or seek help. Few perpetrators have been prosecuted, mainly due to lack of political will. The silence that envelopes sexual torture of men in the aftermath of the war in Croatia stands in strange contrast to the public nature of the crimes themselves.</p>
6	<p>Peel, Michael</p> <p>Men as perpetrators and victims, In Michael Peel (ed.), <i>Rape as a Method of Torture</i>. London: Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, 2004</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://www.torturecare.org.uk/UserFiles/File/publications/rape_singular2.pdf.</p>	<p>Study of men referred to the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture between 1 January 1997 and 30 June 1998. Looks at patterns of sexual assault, physical and psychological evidence, and the problem of underreporting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finds that over 25% had been sexually assaulted in detention, of whom more than 5% admitted to having been raped. • However, it is likely that the true number would have been significantly higher. Cultural taboos also influence reporting. • Over 20% of men from Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo reported having been raped, whereas there were no reports of rape from countries such as Iran and Iraq, although other forms of male sexual assault were as common as in other countries. <p>Three patterns of sexual assault and rape were identified in the Medical Foundation study.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In one pattern, seen for example in Nigeria, the rape and sexual assault were part of the brutality of the detention and interrogation processes. • In Algeria at the time of the study there was a policy of intimidation and humiliation, of which sexual assault was an integral part. • The third pattern, for example in Sri Lanka, was where drunken soldiers entered cells at night and raped some of the men. <p>The author stresses the fact that men who were sexually abused suffer from post-traumatic stress. The psychological scars are often more obvious than the physical damage inflicted upon victims.</p>

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7	<p>M. Peel, A Mahatani, G. Hinshelwood and D Forrest</p> <p>The sexual abuse of men in detention in Sri Lanka, <i>Lancet</i>, 355 (July 2000):2067-2068</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0140673600023680</p>	<p>To estimate the frequency and consequences of the sexual abuse of men in detention in Sri Lanka, M. Peel et al. reviewed records of all Sri-Lankan men who had been referred to the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture between January, 1997, and December, 1998.</p> <p>The authors find that sexual abuse of Tamil men in detention is common in Sri Lanka. They highlight the fact that, although in this sample the proportion of men who reported being sexually abused was 20%, the true number is probably higher as some will not have reported it.</p> <p>Most of these men were telling of the experience for the first time in their interview at the Medical Foundation. The authors stress the fact that the men had not told the authorities, particularly because they were too ashamed, and that shame is a real deterrent to seeking all forms of help for both male and female victims of rape.</p>
8	<p>Russell, Wynne: Sexual violence against men and boys, Forced Migration Review, Issue 27, January 2007</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR27/12.pdf</p>	<p>Russell stresses that male-directed sexual violence—including rape, sexual torture, mutilation of the genitals, sexual humiliation, sexual enslavement, forced incest, and forced rape—has been reported in 25 armed conflicts across the world in the last decade. However, such violence remains largely undocumented.</p> <p>The author notes that until we better understand the scope and consequences of such violence, male survivors will continue to be deprived of care or justice.</p> <p>Russell also states that systematic collection of data is vital. Organizations operating in the field should strengthen efforts to identify male victims of sexual assault and create reporting categories for violence that affects male sexuality and reproductive capacity, such as the mutilation of the genitals. Mechanisms are needed for expert discussion within and across cultural contexts on how to provide assistance for men and boy survivors. Male victims need to be fully represented in international justice initiatives and included in national laws on sexual violence.</p>
9	<p>Russell, Wynne:</p> <p>A silence deep as death: sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflicts.</p> <p>Background paper prepared for OCHA experts' meeting "Use of sexual violence in conflict," New York, 26 June</p>	<p>In addition to the points mentioned in her first article (2007, above), Russell examines the consequences of sexual violence against men and boys, ranging from social ostracization to depression, anxiety disorders, learning disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder and feelings of guilt and shame. The author makes a case for conducting in-depth research on male-directed sexual violence, arguing that we still do not understand the role that such violence plays in conflict perpetuation or the choice of particular forms of retaliatory violence; its impact on post-conflict reintegration of adult or child combatants, or of men and boys forced to rape family or community members; its effect on sexual and other violence against women and children; or the relationship between such conflict-related violence and sexual violence within institutions such as militaries, police forces and penal systems.</p> <p>Beyond these practical issues, an examination of male-directed sexual violence also can contribute at the conceptual level to better understanding of the construction of models of masculinity, both at the global and local levels. In particular, we need to understand the way in which particular models of masculinity reinforce, and are reinforced by, sexualized violence against men, and also the ways in which men and boys, as well as women and girls, are made vulnerable by rigid social norms of masculinity.</p> <p>Finally, the author stresses that an incorporation of men and boys into analyses of conflict-related sexual violence is important to the wider cause of combating sexual violence against all persons. In particular, it helps to reveal the</p>

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		broader phenomenon of conflict-related sexual violence, including against the women and girls against who suffer the bulk of such violence, for what it is: not “boys being boys,” as is still argued by some, but an exercise of power and humiliation.
10	<p>Sivakumaran, Sandesh</p> <p>Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict, European Journal of International Law Vol.18 (2):253-276; 2007</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/18/2/253</p>	<p>Reports of sexual violence by men against men emerge from numerous conflicts, ranging in time from Ancient Persia and the Crusades to the conflicts in Iraq and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Despite these accounts, relatively little material exists on the subject and the issue tends to be relegated to a footnote. In his article, Sivakumaran considers factors that explain under-reporting by victims and lack of detection on the part of others.</p> <p>1) <u>Underreporting</u>: According to the author, under-reporting of rape and sexual violence is due to a combination of shame, confusion, guilt, fear and stigma;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men are loath to talk about being victimized, considering this incompatible with their masculinity. • Men victims of sexual violence do not have the right words to express themselves. As a result, sexual violence is often buried under the rubric of “abuse” or “torture”. • Men trying to report may face the danger of consent being assumed if they are unable to prove sexual violence. <p>2) <u>Lack of detection</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis of the documentary sources of these abuses reveals that they consist, almost in their entirety, of studies published in medical literature or reports of non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations with a presence in the field. • Cases have rarely worked their way through the system to reach the stage at which lawyers traditionally become involved. <p>The particular forms of male sexual violence are also examined: namely rape, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence, including enforced nudity, enforced masturbation and genital violence. The author examines the dynamics of sexual violence. He finds that :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual violence against male members of the household and community suggest not only empowerment and masculinity of the offender, but disempowerment of the individual victim. • The desire to ‘emasculate’ the enemy is another important factor. Emasculation can take place through feminization, homosexualization and the prevention of procreation. <p>The author argues that male sexual violence cannot be neglected as it forms part of the gender dimension of conflict and attention to the issue may lead to a more nuanced consideration of the roles of men and women in armed conflict.</p>
11	<p>Sandesh Sivakumaran</p> <p>Male/Male Rape and the Taint of Homosexuality <i>Human Rights Quarterly</i> 27, 1275, 2005.</p>	<p>Sivakumaran considers the problem of male/male rape. It explores reasons for the silence of the international community on the issue, principal among which is that it involves sexual activity between two men.</p> <p>Society considers any such contact to be indicative of homosexuality, regardless of any element of coercion. Given the prevalence of homophobia in society, this amounts to a "taint" on the part of the victim of the rape.</p> <p>This article explores the notion and extent of such a "taint" by analyzing the role of language and the stigma as felt by</p>

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	<p>Full Text Available at: http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human_rightsquarterly/v027/27.4sivakumaran.pdf</p>	<p>survivors, as intended by perpetrators, and as perpetuated by the state. One reason why male/male rape has not attracted any significant attention, especially at the international level, is that there are very few organizations that advocate or lobby on the issue at that level.</p>
12	<p>Stener Carlson, Eric</p> <p>The Hidden Prevalence of Male Sexual Assault During War: Observations on Blunt Trauma to the Male Genitals, <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> 46, No. 1, January 2006.</p> <p>Full Text Available at: http://bjc.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/full/46/1/16</p>	<p>The author, who has worked for the ICTY' Sexual Assault Investigation Team and analyzed hundreds of cases of sexual assault that were committed in the former Yugoslavia, looks at the widespread nature of Blunt Trauma to Male Genitals (BTMG) Investigators of war crimes need to overcome prejudices related to sexual violence.</p> <p>Blunt trauma of the genitals is a particular form of sexual assault which investigators are likely to dismiss. Male sexual assault is still not being treated with the seriousness it deserves, and the specific case of BTMG is a largely invisible offence. Investigators tend to believe that the only form of male sexual assault is anal rape. However, BTMG is present in many armed conflicts around the world and warring factions use BTMG to systematically attack the victims, sexually, emotionally, and politically. Investigators tend to minimize the sexual nature of the abuse and understand the victims own prejudices. Biased investigations can feed the perpetrators' beliefs that if they commit these crimes they will not be pursued.</p>
13	<p>Zawati, Hilmi M.</p> <p>Impunity or immunity: Wartime male rape and sexual torture as a crime against humanity, <i>Journal on Rehabilitation of Torture Victims and Prevention of Torture</i>, 17:1 April 2007</p> <p>Full text available at: <http://www.irc.org/Admin/Public/DWSDownload.aspx?File=%2FFiles%2FFiler%2FTortureJournal%2F17_1_2007%2Fimpunity_or_immunity.pdf.</p>	<p>Zawati seeks to analyze the phenomenon of wartime rape and sexual torture of Croatian and Iraqi men and to explore the avenues for its prosecution under international humanitarian and human rights law.</p> <p>Male rape, in time of war, is predominantly an assertion of power and aggression rather than an attempt on the part of the perpetrator to satisfy sexual desire. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Iraq, therefore, male rape and sexual torture has been used as a weapon of war with dire consequences for the victim's mental, physical, and sexual health.</p> <p>The author looks at testimonies collected at the Medical Centre for Human Rights in Zagreb and reports received from Iraq, revealing that prisoners in these conflicts have been exposed to sexual humiliation, as well as to systematic and systemic sexual torture. Sexual violence has been brought out of the shadows in the former Yugoslavia, but issues of impunity for the perpetrators and the lack of justice for their male victims remain an issue.</p> <p>Zawati looks at the definitions of rape by the ICTY and the ICTR, the first tribunals ever in the history of the international judicial system to prosecute and convict wartime rape as a crime against humanity. Before developing their own definitions of rape, both tribunals turned to classical definitions in national laws, which were inadequate to prosecute this grievous crime and, consequently, inappropriate to address the needs of the victims. This was due to the lack of a comprehensive technical definition, the responsibility for which must be shared by feminist legal writers and national and international legislators.</p> <p>The author emphasizes the fact that wartime rape is the ultimate humiliation that can be inflicted on a human being and that civilian community associations should encourage victims of male rape to break their silence and address their socio-medical needs, including reparations and rehabilitation.</p>

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14	<p>Zarkov, Dubravka: The body of the other man: sexual violence and the construction of masculinity, sexuality and ethnicity in Croatian media. In Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark, eds., <i>Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence</i>. London: Zed Books, 2001</p> <p>Book not available online, Interview with author: http://www.cordaid.nl/Overige/Extra_pop_up/Index.aspx?mld=9593&rld=242</p>	<p>The author examines male sexual victimization in the Balkans War. She argues that “perceiving men only and always as offenders and never as victims of rape and other forms of sexual violence is a very specific, gendered narrative of war”. In that narrative, dominant notions of masculinity merge with norms of heterosexuality and definitions of ethnicity and ultimately designate who can or cannot be named a victim of sexual violence in the national press.</p> <p>Zarkov examines at how male sexual victimization was presented in Croatian and Serbian mass media, after first passing through the filter of nationalism. In the press the author examined, sexually assaulted men were all but visible.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An investigation of the Croatian and Serbian Press from November 1991 to December 1993 found only six articles in the Croatian press, compared to over 100 about other forms of torture experienced by Croat men and over 60 about the rape of women. • The Serbian press did not publish a single text about sexual torture of men. • In the Croatian press the only visible male victim of rape and castration was a Muslim man, while the Croatian man was never mentioned as either being raped/castrated or raping other men. Serbian men, on the other hand, were mentioned as sodomists who rape (Muslim) men. <p>The author argues that, the need of the newly emerging Croatian state to have its symbolic virility preserved through the preserved virility, power, and heterosexuality of Croatian men was crucial for the representation of the sexual violence against men.</p>
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